WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter. November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME V, NO. 1 [WHOLE NO. 97] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1932 PRICE 5 CENTS

Mass Meet for Marine Workers Defense

New Forces Join Defeuse Committee

A mass meeting with the most representative list of speakers that New York has seen in many years will be held at Webster Hall, 125 East 11th St., on Thursday, January 7th at 8 P. M.

The meeting is called under the auspices of the Marine Workers' Defense Committee and will be devoted to an all-sided exposure of the New York "Dynamite Plot", in which an attempt is being made to railroad John G. Soderberg, Secretary of the International Tidewater Boatmen's Union, and Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, active member of the Union, in a typical frame-up case.

A dozen or more organizations are working to support the meeting and an overflow crowd is anticipated. All the speakers billed for the meeting are well known in the New York labor movement and have spoken to New York audiences on many occasions. Carter Hudson, a member of the Executive Board of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, will preside. The speakers include, James P. Cannon, A. J. Muste, Ben. Gitlow, Carlo Tresca, Walter Starett and Ben Fletcher.

New affiliations to the Marine Workers' Defense Commitee are being registered with increasing frequency and are rapidly giving to this body the character of a broad united front movement. The committee which has previously included two Communist groups, anarchists, I. W. W.'s, the Boatmen's Union and other organizations, seated additional delegates at its meeting Monday, December 28th. (W. H. Hermann and Michael Gordon, presented credentials from Carpenter's Union 2090. The City organization of the Young Peopie's Socialist League was represented by H. Luxemburg. Maurice Goldbloom came from the Students Council of the League for Industrial Democracy and H. Stone from the Marxian Youth Club. The credentials of all the delegates were accepted and in addition, Walter Starett, former editor of the **Road to Freedom,** was seated as a member of the committee.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, which had sent a delegate to a previous meeting to secure information about the case and the work of the committee, has decided to participate officially in the committee and give full support to its work. The information of this decision was conveyed to the committee in a letter from A. J. Muste who is also scheduled as one of the speakers at the mass meeting onJ anuary 7th.

During the past week the work of the sub-committee in charge of the canvass of workers' organizations began to bear fruit. Herbert Capelis spoke in behalf of the committee at the meeting of Carpenters Local Union 2090 and the meeting voted a donation of twenty-five dollars to the defense. Forrest Edwards, who has been delegated to represent the committee at the Conference of the Jewish Anarchists on Sunday, December 27th, made an appeal there and secured a collection of $17.40. The sub-committee has prepared a letter which will be sent out to more than three hundred unions and other organizations this week, appealing for financial and other support for the imprisoned marine workers. It was also decided to begin a wide circularization of individual addresses in a campaign for funds. Lists are being collected and prepared for this purpose.

Following the January 7th mass meeting, which will mark a new stage in the campaign to popularize the cause of the frame-up victims, the Defense Committee plans to proceeed to the calling of a broad conference of workers' organizations in behalf of the defense. A decision to that effect was made at Monday's meeting and a sub-committee elected to draft a call and work out the preliminary plans.

All the activity of the committee has been carried on under the banner of the united front of labor against the frame-up system. The correctness of this policy and the effectiveness of the appeal for the imprisoned workers was indicated by the response that has already been gained. Organizations and groups having the widest differnces on many questions of principle and tactics are uniting for a common fight for the imprisoned marine workers. For the first time in years, we see the signs of a genuine united front movement taking shape. The rank and file workers in all organizations that are standing aloof should take up the fight for united action. A victorious united front struggle for Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer will give a powerful impetus to working class unity against the capitalists on other fronts.

OPEN FORUM

Trotsky at Work

Lecture by

ALBERT GLOTZER

Just Returned From A Five Weeks' Stay With Trotsky

at the

Labor Temple

14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday, January 8, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

We have received today an important and most timely article from the pen of comrade L. D. Trotsky.

The subject is:

"FOR A WORKERS UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM!"

"What Constitute The Mistakes of the Present Policy of the Communist Party of Germany?"

The entire article will appear in the next, January 9th, issue of the **Militant,** No one will want to miss Trotsky's penetrating analysis of the significance of the events in Germany and the next tasks of the Communists.

MARTIAL LAW AT FOOCHOW

FOOCHOW, Fuiken, **(Fenprecor)** —In this city as throughout China, the military authorities have demonstrated the character of their opposition to Japanese aggression in Manchuria by suppressing every attempt to organize a popular anti-imperialist movement.

The recent arrival at this port of four Japanese gunboats was made the occasion for a declaration of martial law. Ostensibly aimed at preventing disturbances "likely to be created by the Japanese", it is in fact aimed at the Chinese populace.

The Geneva Disarmament Bluff

«Disarmament» Conference Will Expose Imperialist Rivalries and Aims Against the Soviet Union

On February 2, 1932, the Disarmament Conference called by the League of Nations will convene at Geneva. This conference is to give consideration to the limitation of armaments by the various powers. It will devote much talk on the need to "outlaw" war as the means employed by nations to solve their economic and political differences and rivalries.

So uncertain and cynical are the capitalist powers on the matter of disarmament or even limitation of armaments, that for a long time there has been doubt that the Conference would even be held. But it will be, and each capitalist nation has or is selecting delegates who are to lie or to sow illusions on the prospects of peace for a war-weary world.

Characteristically enough, President Hoover has appointed Charles G. Dawes, Ambassador to Great Britain, to be chairman of the delegation from the United States Government. Dawes is one of the outstanding jingos in this country—a noisy war-monger who carries the appellation of "Hell N' Maria" Dawes, a biter foe of labor and the Soviet Union. The American delegation will, however, be perfumed with pacifist flowers, among them being Mary Emma Wooley, president of Mount Holyoke College. It is the same with the delegations from other capitalist powers. The bearers of pacifist illusions in a world armed to the teeth will mingle with the gentlemen who "keep their powder dry", and the latter will prevail. Arthur Henderson of the British Labor Party will give the proper touch at Geneva through his selection as Chairman of the Conference. Thus the militarists, pacifists and the labor betrayers will make up a trinity of forces who will talk loudly against war and militarism, come to the conclusion that nothing really can be done now about the matter—and the capitalist nations will continue to strengthen their war departments.

The Cost of Militarism

Armaments and wars are very expensive affairs and no doubt the imperialist powers would like to decrease expenditures, particularly so, if by lopping off some small sums here and there, they can satisfy to some extent the demands of the workers and the petit-bourgeois middle classes for a reduction in armaments and their longing for peace. But in all these years of disarmament confabs, war "outlawry" and pacifist talk, the powers, particularly the United States, Great Britian, France and Japan have been increasing their armament expenditures. The following figures, compiled by the World Peace Foundation from the League of Nations Armaments Year Book, give the expenditures for the fiscal year of 1930:

Government	Budget Expenditures
United States	$ 707,425,000
France	466,960,000
Great Britain	465,255,000
Italy	248,946,500
Japan	236,861,500
Germany	171,923,040

War to maintain peace between the capitalist powers, and periods of peace to prepare for war again, are indeed costly matters—and, as always, it is the working class that carry the burdens, shoulder the guns, foot the costs—and then are honored with an "Unknown Soldier's" grave.

A Fake Disarmament Conference

And now we are to have another fake "disarmament" conference to lull the mass of people throughout the world to sleep, into a false security on the possibility of the maintenance of peace under capitalism. The Secretariat of the League of Nations has organized five commissions for this conference to deal with the land, sea, air, budgetary and political phases of the negotiations. This is the same League of Nations that has listened to the guns roaring, the cannon booming and the airplanes tossing bombs on the fields of Machuria—and did nothing because it could not. The League is not the instrument that can solve or even diminish the capitalist rivalries. That lies in the hands of the international proletariat when it awakens to the problem and becomes conscious of its own unused power.

Since the World War there has been a growth of pacifist illusions, peace societies, declarations of "conscientious objectors" that they will not bear arms in times of war, etc., etc. All the while there has not been a day without war in some part of the globe: semi-colonial and colonial wars for national independence, capitalist warfare (Sino-Jap war in Manchuria today), wars of intervention (imperialist interventions in Soviet Russia, Nicaragua, etc.) and, lastly, the insurrection by an oppressed people against its rulers. Its highest and best expression was reached in the insurrection in Russia which brought the Bolsheviks into power and the dictatorship of the proletariat into being and by means of which the **historical basis** for the final elimination of exploitation and war was first laid. For with the assumption of political power by the working class which alone has no exploiting, imperialist or ulterior aims to serve, there will in time be needed neither an oppressive or suppressive governmental apparatus with its military concomitants, etc.

The Proposal of the Soviet Union

These are times to restate fundamentals of class struggle on whatever front it manifests itself. An exposure of the fake disarmament aims of the capitalist powers and proofs that disarmament or peace are impossible and utopian under capitalism, is an absolute necessity if the proletariat is to be able to fight effectively against capitalist imperialism, understand the causes underlying another impending world war, and give the revolutionary answer to the imperialists.

The Soviet Union long ago showed up the hypocrisy of the capitalist nations on the issue of war or peace when it made a proposal for **complete disarmament of all countries** and laid its program for disarmament and peace on the table. The capitalist nations ran from this proposal as if from the plague. With a single stroke the Soviet Union demonstrated that the capitalist nations were not seriously interested in the abolition of war, but only in such measures as would maintain the capitalist system and serve to fool the working people on this scourge of humanity—capitalist war.

Imperialist Rivalries

This is an epoch when the imperialist rivalries are not lessened, but, on the contrary, approach the breaking point and can find solution only in capitalist war or proletarian revolution. It is the fear of the latter possibility in an awakening proletariat that holds off for the time being the "solution" of the first, capitalist war. Does anyone with half a mind seriously doubt that, despite all the clap-trap about the "unity and close relations of the English-speaking people", the contradictions and imperialist rivalry between Great Britain and the United States are sharpened? Or that, notwithstanding the visit of the "pacifist" Ramsay MacDonald to the United States, the economic basis for warfare between nations, with the United States and Great Britain as the outstanding rivals, has increased manifold in the past years? Only fools would deny the facts. It is one of the great capitalist contradictions that is heading the world into another convulsion.

A United States of Europe or A Soviet United States of Europe

Pacifists and other well-meaning muddle-heads have raised the slogan of a United States of Europe as a solution to the war danger and other problems in Europe. Little or no consideration is given by them to the economic differences of the capitalist groupings in each of these nations that have caused these conflicts and that have no solution on the basis of a capitalist program. There are treaties and agreements between "little ententes", among the Balkan States, France and Poland, Germany and Austria, etc., but no sooner are these understandings arrived at, then others break out—each steps on another's toes.

It is hoped, therefore, that a federated or United States of Europe, a political agreement on a continental scale, could reconcile the grievances and differences. But all these agreements and proposals are based upon the **continuation of the system of exploitation, of capitalist relations in the individual countries.** This is an insoluble capitalist contradiction. No sooner would such a United States of Europe be formed, then it would already begin to disintegrate, to establish rival groupings and—there would be an end to the United States of Europe.

There can be a United States of Europe, but it must take the form, as L. D. Trotsky has so brilliantly demonstrated, of a SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. In other words, **there must first be the elimination of capitalist exploitation,** of capitalism itself, before there can be a solution to its effects—militarism and war. The abolition of customs tariffs and similar barriers between nations can have a meaning only under such conditions. German-Austrian **Anschluss,** for example, therefore can

(Continued on page 3)

The Struggle for Power in Germany

The center of the political stage in the present international situation is occupied by Germany. What will transpire there in the coming six months will have a direct and immediate influence upon the whole development of the world revolutionary movement. The catastrophic economic and social conditions, the collapse of the ruling parties which are enforcing extra-parliamentary measures against the proletariat, the revolutionary feelings of the masses existing alongside of a menacing growth of Fascism have created a direct revolutionary situation in Germany and raise to the foreground the question of the struggle for power.

It is axiomatic for Marxists, that without the leadership of the Communist Party, based on a policy of revolutionary struggle, the thought of the seizure of power is impossible. It requires in the Party, independence, audacity and a will to victory. The absence of such a condition in the ranks of the Party spells defeat for the proletariat. It is precisely this absent condition which makes the situation in Germany today so fraught with dangers to the international working class. The German Communist Party does not understand its tasks. It has falsely evaluated the present state of affairs with the result that it pursues a policy that is little short of criminal.

The Basis For Fascism

The greatest obstacle in the path of the German proletariat is Fascism. Many workers will undoubtedly question: How is it possible that in Germany there should be such a huge growth of Fascism?

The defeat of the revolutionary situation in 1923 gave rise to the present Fascist wave. Fascism in Germany, composed of the militarists, the petty-bourgeoisie, the administrators, office workers, degenerated unemployed elements (a great part of them youth), sections of the working class disgusted with the betrayals of social democracy and the capitulation of the C. P. G. and seeking new ways out of the present difficulties, receives support from the industrialists and financiers and to an extent from international capital. German capitalism remembers only too well that in 1923, had the Party pursued a correct policy, there would at the present time be no capitalism in Germany. It is with this in mind that she prepares herself against a recurrence of 1923. Fascism receives its strength from the social crisis and the weakness of the proletariat (expressed in Germany in the failure of Communism to unify the working class for the conquest of power). The bourgeoisie understands the nature of Fascism. **"The bourgeoisie advances its Fascist shoulder only at the moment an immediate revolutionary danger threatens the foundations of the regime itself and when the normal organs of the bourgeois state prove themselves insufficient. In this sense active Fascism signifies the condition of civil war on the part of capitalist society facing the rebelling proletariat. Contrariwise, the bourgeoisie is forced to advance its Left, the social democratic, shoulder in a period that precedes the time of the civil war, so as to deceive the proletariat, to pacify and disintegrate it, or in a period following upon a serious and lasting victory over the proletariat".** ("The Strategy of the World Revolution, L. D. Trotsky, Pioneer Publishers, New York, page 35.)

Fascist Growth And Threats

But neither the Party nor the Comintern has understood this. Confused themselves, they spread confusion in the ranks of their supporters. The lead is given by Stalin: "The social democracy is an objectively more moderate wing of Fascism". Therefore, between the Nazi and the social democracy there is no difference. Hitler is the more extreme wing, the social democracy, the moderate wing.

Within the last year the small party of Hitler has grown to be the most menacing antagonist of Communism. In the provincial elections held to date (Hamburg, Anhalt, Hesse and Suttgart), the Fascists have won sweeping victories. They are moving forward to the seizure of governmental reigns through "legal" means—awaiting the general elections to be held in the early part of 1932. But Hitler makes no effort to conceal the fact that should the moment present itself, the Fascist Party will sweep into power through a **putsch.** The brown shirts in the meantime transcend parliamentary activity. They are carrying on violent repisals against the proletariat in general, and the Communist Party, the trade unions and the Social Democratic workers in particular. They invade proletarian quarters and attack workers indiscriminately with weapons. Hitler promises that the moment he comes into power he will rid the country of the "pest of Marxism". Every effort then will be utilized to destroy the revolutionary working class and the Communist movement through sheer physical violence. It appears that the experiences of Italian fascism should afford deep lessons for the Comintern and its Parties. But evidently this is not so.

The Capitulationist Policy of the Party

The German Communist Party advances numerous theories regarding the Fascist danger—all of them signify capitulation, and the surrender of struggle. The Party first says: There is no Fascist danger. That is all an illusion. The German working class will never stand for the existence of a Fascist dictatorship. But, if this is not enough, the Party continues: It will be a good thing if Fascism comes to power. Such a condition would lead to the unification of the working class and lay the basis for our own seizure of power. In a word, this new theory means that before the working class can seize power it is necessary to go through the school of a Fascist dictatorship which lays the basis for the proletarian dictatorship.

In an effort to win the support of the working class against Hitler, (he recently paid a visit to Tyrol for the purpose of organizing his Fascist legions there and also to obtain aid from Mussolini and Italian Fascism), the **Rote Fahne,** official organ of the C. P. G. protests because Hitler saw fit to appeal to Italian Fascism which destroyed, "our language", "our culture", and "our traditions" in the Tyrol region. At the "einheits front" (united front) meetings held throughout Berlin with the object of organizing "resistance" against Fascism, the Party officially invites Fascist reporters to participate in the discussions. We witness the unique spectacle of a Party speaker against Fascism and a Fascist speaker against Communism, speaking from the same rostrum. Left Opposition workers present at those meetings, who protest against such an arrangement, denounce the Fascist "reporter", and demand the floor themselves, are requested to maintain silence or be ejected from the hall by "Red Front Fighters".

For A United Front Against Fascism

Against a unified German working class the Fascists could never take power. The proletariat can sucessfully resist and destroy the heterogeneous Hitler movement only on the basis of a unified resistance. The Party, instead of concentrating all its efforts in the creation of a genuine united front between the Communist and social democratic workers—rejects principally and practically this essential policy. Through the theories of the "Third Period" and

(Continued on Page 2)

Trotsky Pamphlet on International Situation

We are about to go to press with a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky. It is entitled: GERMANY—**THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—SHALL FASCISM REALLY BE VICTORIOUS?** The latest work of the leader of the Left Opposition fulfills the most burning need of the moment for the revolutionary movement of the entire world. It analyses in clear and distinct strokes the problems facing Communism and offers the Bolshevik solution to them, concentrating particularly on the Fascist danger in Germany and the revolutionary situation in that country.

This new pamphlet wil be out in two weeks. Every worker and Communist should read it. It is being printed by the Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St. Order your copy now. The price is ten cents for the individual copy and seven cents for bundle orders.

JAPS USE RUSSIAN WHITE GUARDS TO PROVOKE SOVIETS

HARBIN, MANCHURIA, Nov 1. **(Fenprecor)**—Japanese attempts to provoke the Soviet Union have been forced out into the open this week by the arrest of a White Guard named Ushakov, who was captured by the Chinese authorities at a small station along the Chinese Eastern Railway. Documents and letters were found on the man proving his connection with the Japanese military mission and proving the reported connivance between the Japanese and White Russians with a view to creating disturbances on the Chinese Eastern Railway and otherwise provoking the Soviet authorities into action.

Ataman Semenoff, notorious White Russian bandit leader, has been closeted with General Chang Hai-peng, Japanese "rebel" puppet in Heilungkiang and it has been reported that he is planning to remobilize his White Russian guerrilla bands to stage raids

PROTEST MEETING

Hear the Facts of the

New York Dynamite Plot'

Three Members of tht Independent Tide-Water Boatmen's Union Face 40 Years In Prison!

John Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer Are Being Framed Because They Dared Organize The Harbor Boatmen.

RALLY TO THEIR DEFENSE!

ON

Thursday, January 7, 1932 - at 8 P.M.

AT

Webster Hall

125 East 11th Street

SPEAKERS:

J.P. Cannon - C. Tresca - B. Gitlow - B.Fletcher
A.J. Muste and W. Starrett

CARTER HUDSON, Chairman

Admission: FREE Auspices: Marine Workers Defense Committee

CHICAGO

Open Forum

Every Sunday, 3 p.m.

JANUARY 10 By HUGO OEHLER

ON

"The Industrial and Financial Conflict Reflected In Congress"

Free Admission

at

HALL, 1435 NO. WESTERN AVE.

Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

In the Needle Trades

Tasks Before the Plenum of the Needle Trades Industrial Union

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union Plenary session of the G. E. B. has been announced for the first week in January. This Plenum will take the place of a convention and will therefore have to consider the work of the whole period since the last convention.

What has the Union to report and register as accomplishments for the last eighteen months? Have the policies adopted at the last convention been verified? To what extent have the resolutions adopted at the convention been instrumental in the building and strengthening of the Industrial Union?

Even a superficial glance will point to negative results. The last convention was held under the banner of the "third period". This was evidenced in the phraseology employed and in the policies adopted. The Right wing controlled unions were branded as hopeless company-unions and the building of Left wing opposition groups in them pronounced—futile. The policies proved wrong to the root and disastrous for the Left wing. Not growth and expansion followed the convention, but isolation.

A Genuine United Front Imperative

The plenum is confronted at present with one basic problem from which all the others follow. The sentiment for united front and for one union has become the outstanding issue of the day. The Industrial Union, as well as the reformist unions, cannot any more dull the voice of the workers for unity. The future of the Left wing in the trade unions depends largely upon the correct solution of the problem of unity. The latest mechanical gesture of the leadership in going through the motions of united front action in the Dress Trade, and the distorted manner of applying united front tactics, as exemplified by the Furriers of which the **Militant,** (Nov. 24, 1931) spoke, confronts the Left wing with many new contradictions. The Left wing must strive for unity in such a way that it will rise in the eyes of the workers and gain strength in the struggle with reformism. What the Left wing has done up till now is the exact opposite.

Unity over the heads of the bureaucratic officials would be very desirable if it were possible—but unfortunately this is not the case.

The slogan of "united front from below" used aimlessly and mechanically by the leadership of the Party and the Union disregards all circumstances and is therefore not realistic and applicable as a weapon against the Right wing.

Lovestone For Liquidation

It is absolutely impermissible to follow the path of the Lovestone united front maneuvers. Here is a group that is always ready to stab the Left wing in the back; always ready to give the benefit of doubt to the Right wing; always ready to plead the case of the Right wing and to throw the blame upon the Left wing and unites for that purpose with any shady and unprincipled cliques. (Zimmerman's article in the **Revolutionary Age** (12-26-31).

It is wrong likewise to pursue united front tactics as were practiced by the Golds and Wortises under the Lovestone Party regime—with Sorkin and others in the furriers.

But it is perfectly in line with Communist principles for the Left wing to demand unity from the Right wing bureaucrats on the basis of a struggle against the bosses, to call them to conferences for this purpose and at the same time call upon the workers to press the issue of unity; to send committees to the Executive and Joint Board, etc. Nor must we necessarily demand a majority at the conference as a prerequisite for trade union unity negotiations. As long as we are able to bring the message of unity before the workers and to make our demands known, we are in a position to expose the Right wing fakers and to educate the workers in the class struggle. In the struggle for unity, in the endeavor to build one union, we must strive to gain all possible concessions from the Right wing to assure a fighting chance for the militant workers. What the Lovestone group proposes is identical with the proposals made by Zaritsky a few years ago to Local 43 of the Milliners—not amalgamation but **liquidation** of the Left wing as an organized group.

Issues of Struggle Must Be Posed

The present intolerable conditions of the needle trades workers can be improved only through a united struggle of the workers. Because of the division in the ranks, the weakness of the Industrial Union and the utter ignorance of the Party leadership of how to lead the united front movement,—the great need of a struggle for better conditions, shorter hours, the week work system, etc., is being lost sight of. The Left wing has as yet not considered nor made mention of these issues.

The great number of Italian, Spanish and Negro workers in the dress trade requires special attention and an organization campaign, well equipped with language speakers and language literature. This is being abandoned because of the organizational weakness of the Left wing. The Right wing is not interested to improve their lot. The result is brutal exploitation by the bosses.

The Plenum must deal adequately with each branch and with the Union as a whole, and lay emphasis where it's due. In some branches like the Millinery, for instance, the original base is practically gone. Here undoubtedly more attention must be concentrated on the building of a real opposition within the Right wing controlled union.

In the dress industry we are nearing the expiration of the agreements. Again we find ourselves in the midst of a great deal of confusion and indecision. The tactics to be pursued are handled behind the scenes—the open platform is decorated with a lot of name calling, denunciations, slander, etc. The dressmakers who come to meetings hear a lot of monotonous and meaningless speeches, but not a word about the real issue involved—namely, how to solidify the broken ranks; how to build one united strike committee and when we will draw up demands. The time is short and too much of it is wasted by the Stalinist leadership of the Industrial Union.

Opposition Points the Way

This pre-strike period is very similar to the same period of last year, before the socalled general strike of the dressmakers under the direction of the N T. W. I. U.

The **Freiheit** writes editorially (Dec. 7, 1931): "The strike of the Industrial Union of a year ago did not accomplish much, because in the preparation only general and often meaningless propaganda was made use of and very little healthy practical work." This is said now by the official organ of the Party a year after the strike was lost. It is said in a big-hearted way and in the name of self-criticism. These writers conveniently forget that members of the Industrial Union and adherents of the Left Opposition were called counter-revolutionists and betrayers for saying the same thing at the time of the strike discussions in order to avoid a failure of the strike.

The Left Opposition was and remains the only consistent fighter in the ranks of the Left wing. Our proposals to effect a united front for the dressmakers strike (**Militant,** Oct. 24, 1931) should be taken as a basis.

The sooner we get on the job, the stronger we will be to undertake a struggle against the bosses and the Right wing bureaucrats.

The Plenum has a big job before it—Not a policy of one sidedness and the calling of names, not mechanical control over a small group of blind followers, but a free discussion on the matters before us will help the Plenum to solve the tasks before it. Not victimization of Left wingers and Left Oppositionists for disagreements with the official policy, nor the repulsion of tried devoted workers from active participation.

Will the Plenum measure up to the tasks before it?

—SYLVIA BLECKER.

In the Workmen's Circle

The Membership Begins to Awaken

Since the split in the Workmen's Circle in 1930, organized by the Left wing, tranquility has reigned there. The Socialist Party bureaucrats who are intrenched in the Workmen's Circle, and more so since most of the militant elements split away, expected easy sailing. The self-complacent bureaucrats of the S. P. school don't seem to have learned anything, nor, surely, have they forgotten anything. To them the cause of the Left wing is just the agitation of a few trouble-makers and not the product of objective conditions.

But this self-complacency didn't last very long. The working class elements in the Workmen's Circle, who still predominate (contray to the contentions of the Stalinites remained for a long time after the split, as if in a stupor. The organization was being pushed further to the Right by the stupid tactics of the "third period" (by the way, what became of the "third period"?), by which every worker who remained in the Workmen's Circle, or in other mass organizations, was called a "social-fascist". Such tactics by the Left were only grist to the mill of the corrupt clique of Right wingers.

But the workers in the Workmen's Circle did not remain forever in a stupified state. In the present period, when the foundations of the capitalist structure are being ever more undermined, the capitalists are driven to vicious attacks on the standards of living of the workers. Consequently the cleavage between the workers' ranks and the bosses deepens and widens. Impelled by the worsening of his economic conditions, the workers in the Workmen's Circle, especially the revolutionary elements among them, who would not respond to the Stalinist cry to split away from the Workmen's Circle, are awakening.

From occasional rumblings there finally resulted a statement by Branch No. 417, W. C., which was published. In no uncertain terms it declared its adherence to the revolutionary movement. With this definite act, new hopes arose in the hearts of many of these workers, and a readiness to renew the struggle.

The Paterson Strike and the W. C. Scabs

There is no need to tell the readers of the **Militant** that there was a strike of silk workers in Paterson, though the "wisecracker" Harrison George of the **Daily Worker** isn't sure of it. Over 7,000 workers paticipated in it. Despite the misleadership, to which Lovestone and Co. contributed their share, the rank and file led a heroic struggle. The strike was lost, and no small share of this loss is due to over 200 members of the Workmen's Circle who scabbed during the strike,—against the National Textile Workers Union (for which act the Lovestoneites have excuses) and against the United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the A. F. of L. The U. T. W. strike received the support of the leadership (S. P.ites) of the Workmen's Circle, and over 300 branches of the Workmen's Circle contributed support to the strikers.

After the strike was over, a few of the more aggressive and militant workers of Paterson attempted to call on the strikers for action against those scabs still members of the Workmen's Circle. They discovered that many, if not most, of the workers are disheartened and brow-beaten by these same scabs who are co-members with them of their fraternal organization, the W. C.

Socialist Party Supports Scab Members

These workers realized that under these conditions it will be a difficult task to get rid of the scabs in the Workmen's Circle. They have appealed to the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle to dispense with the ordinary rules of procedure because of the special conditions in Paterson, pointing out that when and if the workers bring charges against these scabs, the latter, small employers, etc. retaliate by black-listing them. They have asked the appointment of a special committee to deal with the scab problem in the W. C. of Paterson. The reply was: "We must obey the laws of the constitution". But in the struggle against the militants and Left wingers they spoke differently. "To hell with the constitution" was the slogan then.

The question will be asked, "What are the reasons that the Socialist Party leadership of the Workmen's Circle supports scabs?" The Socialist Party leadership everywhere is losing its hold on the workers. True to their breed, they follow in the foot-steps of their comrades, Noske, Scheidemann, Renaudel, etc. They have thrown off the little baggage of revolutionary phrases they still retained. Today they find their allies in the middle class elements in the Workmen's Circle, who have increased tremendously in numbers during and after the war. These S. P. bureaucrats cannot divorce themselves from these elements, their chief supporters, who have become a decisive factor in the Workmen's Circle.

A Movement For A Special Conference

The Paterson workers seem now to have realized this. They know that this is not a Paterson affair only. It involves the very existence of the organization, sometimes called the "Red Cross" of the Jewish labor movement. The Paterson workers, members of the Workmen's Circle, have sent out a clarion call to rally the broad membership of the Workmen's Circle around this struggle. So far, the New York District has responded, and the response is a very encouraging one. This call was first published in the Jewish **Day** and, after a delay of three weeks, in the **Freheit.** An organization has already been formed for the purpose of calling a **Special Conference** of the branches of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

This movement must be supported by every class conscious worker. The issue is clear-cut. "The scabs must be driven out of the Workmen's Circle!" "The leadership that makes it possible for scabs to belong to the Workmen's Circle must go!"

There are great opportunities for the Left wing movement, as well, of course, as serious dangers. In another article I will deal with various points and the role the Party and Communists should play.

—J. B.

THE ECONOMIC MONTH

The American crisis continues to reach new depths. Steel production for the last weeke of December was at the rate of 21% of capacity, the lowest operating rate since 1921, against 29% at the beginning of the month. Undoubtedly there will be some increase during January and February in steel production, as there was in the early months of 1931 as well as 1930, due to some accumulation of orders in the automobile and other industries, but any such increase will have little bearing on the immediate perspectives of the crisis.

Railroad car loadings have kept on decreasing week after week; in the week ended Dec. 13 they amountd to 613,000 cars, against a weekly average of 740,000 for the year 1931 to date. These figures are of special significance because of the quickness with which they reflect any tendency to recovery out of the crisis.

Automobile production for November of 69,000 cars was the lowest reported for any month since 1921, and compared with an average of 203,000 cars per month for the first 11 months of 1931, and with 136,000 cars for November 1930.

Unquestionably the present crisis, in proportion to the present development of productive facilities in the United States, will go down in history as the deepest up to the present time, reflecting the accumulation and intensification of capitalist contradictions on the economic field on an unprecedented scale.

* * * *

Senator Brookhart has introduced a bill to abolish the gold standard, and replace the gold dollar by a new unit equivalent to one—three hundred and sixty billionth of the national wealth of the United States as of July 1, 1931. The present currency is to be exchanged for Treasury notes redeemable in any of the commodities used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in computing its index numbers of prices, and the total volume of currency in circulation is to be manipulated on the basis of the 1926 level of prices. Senator Shipstead, Farmer-Laborite, wants to issue non-interest bearing Treasury notes having legal tender to inflate the currency.

It has been characteristic of the petty bourgeois liberal-reformist and agrarian movements in this country that they have tried to pick the pockets of the grand bourgeoisie through currency manipulations as a basic tactic rather than fighting them openly in the political arena. Senator Brookhart continues the traditions of the Greenbackers of the '70's, the Free-Silver movement of W. J. Bryan, the 1920-21 agrarian agitation against the so-called "Federal Reserve deflation conspiracy", etc. If these gentlemen need an ideological basis, they will find it in the Proudhonist theories of money culminating in the "exchanging banks" which were so thorughly exposed by Marx and Engels.

* * * *

The grand bourgeoisie itself is not above using financial manipulations to create the illusion that there is a way out of the crisis through other means than the class struggle in the field of production. The National Credit Corporation, commented on previously in the **Militant** in connection with the acute phase of the banking crisis of September-October 1931, is being discredited even among bankers.

In a hearing before the Senate subcommitte on finance and banking, Melvin A. Taylor, president of the half-billion-dollar First National Bank of Chicago, said the N. C. C. would only transfer undesirable loans from bank to bank and in the end leave the stronger banks holding $500,000,000 worth of such paper. The practical outcome of his criticism is—an endorsement of Hoover's proposed Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which would make the government put up the money instead of the banks, and incidentally holding the bag. George L. Harrison, governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, said the N. C. C. "could not be employed in the general situation and had not done as much as desired in relieving frozen credit among the banks".

All of which does not prevent Mr. Hoover from proposing as Point 10 of his 12-point program in a statement of Dec. 11, "the safeguarding and support of the banks through the National Credit Corporation, which has already given great confidence to bankers and extends their ability to make loans to commerce and industry". The Germans have the word for it—"unverschaemt"—something more than shameless.

* * * *

The Bruening government has shot its last bolt with the group of emergency decrees cutting wages 10%, raising the turnover tax from 85-100 of 1% to 2% which tends to raise prices and the cost of living while it hypocritically "orders" a 10% cut in prices, etc. As the bourgeois financial press remarks, the 10% wage cut is sure, the 10% cut in prices may in practice "result in hardships" which will lead to modification.

While German capitalism thus strengthens itself internally, it is being forced to its knees internationally, in its relations with the capitalists of other countries. Foreign bank credits continue to be withdrawn; the short-term debt, which amounted to 4 1-2 billion marks on July 31, had been reduced by Oct. 31 to 3.7 billions, of which the American share declined during this period from 2.1 to 1.8 billions. The Basle committee of bankers has had to throw up its hands and pass the buck back to the governments, with the notation that Germany surely cannot pay reparations by July 1, 1932, when the moratorium expires.

The exploitation of the German proletariat which now has to carry on its back capitalists of other countries as well as its own bourgeoisie is raising international contradictions to a still higher level and hastening the relief of the accumulating social tension through an explosion in the form of war, revolution or fascist coup d'etat.

One of the expressions of the intensification of the crisis in France is the growing inability of taxes to cover expenses; a point of special importance to France because the whole stabilization since 1927 was predicated on the ability of the government to balance its budget. For the month of October, 1931, the yield of taxes was off 11 million dollars from the same month of the preceding year; for the seven months to October, the decline was 31 millions! an official estimate before the Chamber of Deputies is that the 1933 budget will show a deficit of 240 million dollars. The unstable nature of the "equilibrium" of French economy, pointed out in a recent article in the **Militant,** will lead to an immense piling-up of contradictions and sharpening of the class struggle when French capitalism attempts to put through its solution of the crisis in Government finance—reduced expenses through cutting the pay of Government employees, and attempts to cut wages in industry at a time when living costs are adjusting themselves to the international level.

* * * *

The sharpening of the industrial crisis and its development to a higher level, that of the financial crisis, has been exemplified by the declaration by Hungary of a moratorium on at least two-thirds of its foreign debt of $715,000,000. So far it claims to be able to deposit the required amounts in Hungarian currency, but to be unable to sell this currency for gold without breaking down its foreign exchange values. The logical next step would be the declaration that it is unable to accumulate the 60-odd millions per year required, even in Hungarian currency.

Japan too has had to withdraw formally from the gold standard, after having lost gold consistently ever since the attempted stabilization. Yesterday the yen broke to about 37 cents, losing 6% of its value in one day, and the Tokio Stock Exchange has had to be closed after a one-day gesture to restore confidence by reopening. Imperialist wars in the declining phase of world capitalism create fresh crises and contradictions as fast as they solve old ones, but the new crises are on a higher plane—this is what Japan is illustrating on a small scale now, as the European war has done since 1918, and as the next world-wide war will triumphantly prove.

—B. J. F.

Carpenters' Local Supports Marine Defenes

When on Dec. 23 a member of the Marine Workers Defense Committee asked for the floor at our local Union, L. U. 2090, U. B. of C. & J. of A. to speak in behalf of the three framed up Marine Workers in jail, a member of the I. W. W. made a motion that the delegate be granted ten minutes to state their case. Immediately Spitzer, a leading member of the T. U. U. L. made an amendment, that the time be reduced to five minutes. A vote was taken and the result was that the speaker was given the floor for ten minutes.

The speaker was able in a few minutes to explain the frame up case. He appealed to the membership for its moral as well as financial support, when Friedman, chief leader of the T. U. U. L. made a motion that we send two delegates to their conference, to find out who this committee was. Having fully understood this act of sabotage, I made an amendment that since the case of these prisoners was already somewhat neglected and mainly due to lack of financial support, that we grant them twenty-five dollars immediately. My amendment was seconded. Again Friedman took the floor and spoke against my amendment. His argument was that we should send our delegates to this conference and then act in accord with their report. They had the whole thing summed up as follows: Since our meeting, on account of the holidays, was held on a Wednesday instead on Thursday, therefore we only had an attendance of a few hundred. Friedman thought that they would succeed in electing both delegates from their group and thereby the unfavorable report would automatically follow. But due to their efforts to get on the committee, when many of us knew that they never supported any proposition in our local Union except it comes from the I. L. D. or the Party), my amendment to Friedman's motion carried by three votes. Then, along with one of their supporters I was elected delegate.

With such unscrupulous tactics the T. U. U. L. intends to build up aLeft wing movement in a trade union. Not even the reactionary Hutcheson machine cares to place itself in such a position. The T. U. U. L. must get wholeheartedly behind the Marine Workers Defense and help to smash the frame-up.

—W. H. H.

The Struggle For Power In Germany

(Continued from page 1)

itself further away from the millions of social democratic workers. The C. P. "Social-Fascism" the Party has isolated G. has aped the Fascists in an effort to stem their growth. In these efforts it has traveled another step away from a policy of revolutionary struggle and adopted instead a line of nationalism, dragging along with it the demands of Hitler. Within the Party a strong wave of anti-semitism exists.

The huge growth of the C. P. G. (its membership is now over 200,000) only testifies to the revolutionary character of the present situation. But the negative features of the Party policy, which is a negation of struggle and signifies a surrender to Fascism, will have disastrous results for the international working class. A victory of Fascism in Germany would mean the destruction of the Germany Communist Party. It would mean the dissolution of the labor movement. Once in power, Fascism would strengthen and unify its forces. It would cause a reaction to the Right in other countries. With the destruction of the German Communist Party, the Comintern would find itself weakened tremendously. A Fascist Germany, would in a short period of time receive the support of the imperialist powers and result in a quick attack against the Soviet Union.

The Party has as its task to prepare the basis for the seizure of power. It is an unavoidable task. The struggle in Germany is between Fascism and Communism. A victory for Fascism is a defeat for the international revolutionary movement. The Soviet Union would be in immediate danger of a military attack of the imperialist powers. It would be the signal for a reactionary turn to the Right on a world scale.

The international Communist movement, and in particular the German Communist Party must block this development. It can do this if its line is reversed. If it realizes that the foremost task for it is the organization of the working class for the revolutionary struggle. In this situation the Opposition must exert all its energies to force a turn in the Party line, and must actively project itself into the situation.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

New York Open Forum

N. Y. FORUM

On Friday, January 8, 1932, comrade Albert Glotzer, member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), will speak on his visit to comrade Trotsky. Comrade Glotzer, who has just returned from a trip to Europe, spent five weeks with Trotsky and has much to relate to the American workers. The meeting is part of the program of regular forums held by the Left Opposition in New York. The meeting will be held in the **Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue, and begins at 8 P. M.**

PHILADELPHIA

MASS MEETING

PHILADELPHIA—On SUNDAY JANUARY 10, 1932, at 8 P. M., a lecture on **"The Economic Crisis and the Communists"** will be given by Arne Swabeck. The lecture wil be held at OSTROPOLER HALL, 943 No. FRANKLIN ST. The **admission is free** and edveryone is invited. There will be a period for questions and discussion by the audience. The meeting is being held under the auspices of The Philadelphia Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

Prospects for Jewish Paper Bright

The preliminary work for the early publication of the Jewish organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition), **Unser Kamf** is well under way. We are now ready to announce the editorial board of the paper. It will consist of comrades: M. Lewit, Albert Orland, and F. Rubinstein. Sylvia Blecker has been chosen Business Manager. As yet we cannot with certainty announce the exact day of its appearance. **We are aiming to have Unser Kamf** out on the fifteenth of January.

Will we suceed in that? The answer to this question lies with our comrades and sympathizers throughout the country. We have not yet received all the payments on the pledges.

Rush your contributions immediately, so that there may be no delay in the appearance of Unser Kamf.

From the manuscripts we have at handd, we can say that the first number of **Unser Kamf** promises to be very rich in content. No worker will want to miss the first issue—and we are sure—the issues following. The only way to assure yourself of a copy of **Unser Kamf** is to subscribe. For one dollar (Canada $1.25) the paper will be mailed to you for one year (26 issues).

Forward all contributions and subscriptions to:

UNSER KAMF
84 East 10th Street
New York, N. Y.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Stalin and the Chinese Revolution

-- *Facts and Documents* --

(Continued from Previous Issue)

6. How Did The Shanghai Overturn Occur?

In this connection we have the extraordinarily valuable testimony of a witness and participant, **the Stalinite** Chitarov, who arrived from China on the eve of the 15th Congress and who appeared with his information at the Congress. The most important points of his narrative have been deleted by Stalin from the Minutes with the consent of Chitarov himself; one cannot make the truth public if it so crushingly proves all the accusations of the Opposition directed against Stalin. Let us give the floor to Chitarov (Sixteenth Session of the XV Congress of the C. P. S. U., December 11, 1927):

"The first bloody wound has been inflicted upon the Chinese Revolution in Shanghai by the execution of the Shanghai workers, April 11-12.

"I would like to speak in greater detail about this Shanghai overturn insofar as I know that in our Party there is little known about it. In Shanghai there existed for a period of 21 days the so-called, **People's Government, in which the Communists had a majority.** We can therefore say that for 21 days Shanghai had a Communist government. This Communist government, however, manifested complete inactivity in spite of the fact that the overturn by Chiang Kai-Shek was expected from day to day.

"The Communist government, in the first place, did not begin to work for a long time under the excuse that, on the one hand, the bourgeois part of the government does not want to get to work, sabotaging it—and, on the other hand,—because the Wuhan government did not approve the composition of the Shanghai government. From the activity of this government three decrees are known, and one of them, by the way, speaks of the preparation of a triumphant reception for Chiang Kai-Shek who was expected to arrive in Shanghai.

In Shanghai at this time the relations between the army and the workers grew sharp. It is known, for instance, that the army (that is, the Chiang Kai-Shek officers—L. T.) consciously drove the workers into slaughter. The army for a period of several days stood at the gates of Shanghai, did not want to enter the city because they knew that the workers were battling against the Shan Dunts, and wanted the workers to be bled in this struggle. They expected to enter later. Afterward the army did enter Shanghai. But among these soldiers there was one division that sympathized with the workers—the first division of the Canton army; the commander, Say-O, was in disfavor with Chiang Kai-Shek, who knew about his sympathies to the mass movement, because this Say-O himself came from the ranks. He was at at first the commander of a company and presently he commanded a division.

"Say-O came to the comrades in Shanghai and told them that there was a military overthrow in preparation, that Chiang Kai-Shek summoned him to headquarters, gave him an extraordinarily cold reception and that he, Say-O, will not go there any longer because he is afraid of a trap. Chiang Kia-Shek propsed to Say-O to get out of the city with his division and to go to the front; and he, Say-O, proposed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party to agree with him not to subordinate himself to the order of Chiang Kai-Shek. He was ready to remain in Shanghai and together with the Shanghai workers to fight against the military overthrow that was in preparation. To these our responsible leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Du Hsui included, declared that they know about the overturn that is in preparation, but that **they do not want a premature conflict with Chiang Kai-Shek** and that they proposed to Say-O that either he goes to the front or that he retires, **in order to prove his loyalty to Chiang Kai-Shek.** The First Division was let out of Shanghai, the city was occupied by the Second Division of Bai-Sung Gee and, two days later, the Shanghai workers were shot down."

Why was this truly stirring narrative left out of the Minutes (P. 32)? Because it was not at all a question of the Chinese Communist Party but of the Polit Bureau of the Soviet Union.

On May 24, 1927, Stalin spoke at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.:

"The Opposition is dissatisfied because the Shanghai workers did not enter into a decisive battle against the imperialists and their myrmidons. But it does not understand that the revolution in China cannot develop at a fast tempo. It does not understand that one cannot take up a decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions. The Opposition does not understand that not to avoid a decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions (when it can be avoided),—means to make easier the work of the enemies of the revolution . . . "

This section of Stalin's speech is titled: "The Mistakes of the Opposition". In the Shanghai tragedy Stalin found mistakes . . . of the Opposition. In reality the Opposition at that time did not *yet know the concrete circumstances of* the situation in Shanghai, that is, it did not know how much more favorable the situation remained for the workers in March and the beginning of April in spite of all the mistakes and crimes of the leadership of the Comintern. Even from the consciously concealed story of Chitarov it is clear that the situation could have been saved even at this time. The workers in Shanghai are in power. They are partly armed. There is a complete possibility of arming them incomparably better. Chiang Kai-Shek's army is unreliable. There are parts where even the commanding staff is on the side of the workers. But everything and everyone is paralyzed at the top. We must not prepare for the decisive struggle with Chiang Kai-Shek, but for a triumphant reception to him. Because Stalin *gave his categoric directives from Moscow*: 'not only to resist his ally, Chiang Kai-Shek, but on the contrary, to prove loyalty to him. How? Lie down on the back and raise all four paws.

In the May Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Stalin on technical tactical grounds still defend this terrific abandonment of positions without a struggle, which led to the crushing of the proletariat in the revolution. Half a year later, at the XV Congress of the C. P. S. U. Stalin already kept silent. The delegates at the Congress extended Chitarov's time to give him a chance to end his narrative which gripped even them. But Stalin found a very simple way out of it, by deleting Chitarov's narrative from the Minutes. We publish here this truly historic document for the first time.

Let us note additionally one interesting circumstance: While smearing up the course of events as much as possible and *concealing the truly guilty ones*, Chitarov singles out the responsibility of Chen Du Hsui whom, on the contrary, the Stalinites until then had defended in every way against the Opposition, because he had merely carried out their directives. But at this time it was already becoming clear that comrade *Chen Du Hsui would not agree to play* the role of a silent scape-goat, that he wanted openly to analyze the reasons for this catastrophe. All the hounds of the Comintern were let loose upon him, *not for the mistakes fatal to the revolution* but because he did not agree to deceive the workers and to be a cover for Stalin.

7. The Organizers of the "Influx of Workers and Pasants Blood"

The leading organ of the Comintern wrote on March 18, 1927, *about three-weeks* prior to the Shanghai overturn:

"The leadership of the Kuo Min Tang is at present ill with a lack of revolutionary workers and peasants blood. The Chinese Communist Party must aid in the influx of this blood, and then the situation will radically change."

What an ominous play of the words! The Kuo Min Tang is in "need of workers and peasants blood". The "aid" was rendered in the fullest measure: in April-May, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chin-Wei received a sufficient "influx" of workers and peasants blood.

In regard to the Chiang Kai-Shek chapter of the Stalinist policy the eight Plenum (May, 1927) declared:

"The E. C. C. I. assumes that the tactic of the block with the national bourgeoisie in the already declining period of the revolution was absolutely correct. As historic justification of this tactic even (!) this one northern expedition serves. . . . "

And how!

Here is Stalin in his whole stature. The northern expedition, which accidently turned out to be an expedition against the proletariat, serves as a justification of his friendship with Chiang Kai-Shek. The E. C. C. I. has done everything to make it impossible to draw the lessons of the blood-bath of Chinese workers.

8. Stalin Repeats His Experiment With the "Left" Kuo Min Tang

Further on, the following remarkable point is left out of Chitarov's speech:

"After the Shanghai **coup**, it has become clear to everyone that a new epoch is beginning in the Chinese Revolution: that the bourgeoisie is retreating from the revolution. This was recognized and immediately so stated. But one thing was left out of sight in connection with this,—that if the bourgeoisie retreats from the revolution, the **Wuhan government did not exen think of leaving the bourgeoisie.** Unfortunately among the majority of our comrades this was not understood: **they had illusions in respect to the Wuhan government.** They considered the Wuhan government almost an image, a prototype of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". (The omission is on page 33).

"After the Wuhan overturn it became clear that the bourgeoisie is retreating . . . . "

This would be ridiculous if it had not sounded tragic. When Chiang Kai-Shek slayed the revolution in the face of the workers disarmed by Stalin, then the penetrating strategists finally "understood" that the bourgeoisie is "retreating". But having recognized that his friend Chiang Kai-Shek is retreating, Stalin ordered the Chinese Communists to subordinate themselves to that same Wuhan government which, according to Chitarov's information at the 15th Congress, "did not even think of leaving the bourgeoisie". Unfortunately "our comrades did not understand this". What comrades? *Borodin*, who was hanging on to Stalin's telegraph wires? Chitarov does not mention any names. The Chinese Revolution is dear to him, but his hide—still dearer.

However, let us listen to Stalin:

"Chiang Kai-Shek's **coup d'Etat** means that in south China there will from now on be two camps, two governments, two armies, two centers: The center of the revolution in Wuhan and the center of the counter-revolution in Nanking."

Is it clear where the center of the revolution is? In Wuhan!

"This means that the revolutionary Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan, leading a decisive struggle against militarism and imperialism, will in reality be transformed into an organ of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". . . .

Now we finally know what the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry looks like!

"From this it further follows," Stalin *continues*, "that the policy of close collaboration of the Lefts and the Communists inside the Kuo Min Tang acquires a particular force and a particular significance at the present stage . . . that without such a collaboration the victory of the revolution is impossible". ("Problems of the Chinese Revolution", pages 125-27).

Without the collaboration of the counter-revolutionary bandits of the "Left" Kuo Min Tang, "the victory of the revolution is impossible!" This is how Stalin step after step,—in Canton, in Shanghai, in Hankow—assured the victory of the revolution.

9. Against the Opposition—For the Kuo Min Tang!

How did the Comintern view the "Left" Kuo Min Tang? The VIII Plenum of the E. C. C. I. gave a clear answer to this question in its struggle against the Opposition.

"The E. C. C. I. rejects with all its determination the demand to leave the Kuo Min Tang . . . The Kuo Min Tang in China is precisely that specific form of organization, where the proletariat collaborates directly with the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry".

In this manner the E. C. C. I. quite corectly saw in the Kuo Min Tang, the realization of the Stalinist idea of the "two-class workers and peasants party".

The not-unknown Rafes, who was at first a minister under Petlura* and afterward carried out Stalin's directives in China, wrote in May, 1927 in the theoretical *organ of the C. C. of the* Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"Our Russian Opposition, as is known, also considers it necessary for the Communists to leave the Kuo Min Tang. A consistent defense of this viewpoint would lead the adherents of the policy to leave the Kuo Min Tang, to the famous formula proclaimed by comrade Trotsky in 1917: 'Without a Czar, but a labor government',** which for China might have been changed in form: 'without the militarists, but a labor government'. To such consistent defenders for leaving the Kuo Min Tang, we have no occasion to listen". (**Proletarian Revolution,** page 54.)

The slogan of Stalin-Rafes was: "Without the workers, but with Chiang Kai-Shek". "Without the peasants, but with Wang Chin-Wei!" "Against the Opposition, but for the Kuo Min Tang!".

10. Stalin Once Again Disarms the Chinese Workers and Peasants

What was the policy of the leadership during the Wuhan period of the revolution? Let us listen to the Stalinite Chitarov on this question. Here is what we read in the minutes of the 15th Congress:

"What was *the policy of the C. C. of* the Communist Party at this time, during this whole (Wuhan) period? The policy of the C. C. of the Communist Party was carried on under the slogan of **retreat** . . . . . "

"Under the slogan of retreat"—in the revolutionary period, at the moment of the highest tension of the revolutionary struggle; the Communist Party works, and under this slogan surrenders one position after another without a battle. To this surrender of positions belongs: the agreement to subordinate all the trade unions, all the peasant unions and other revolutionary organizations of the Kuo Min Tang; the refusal of independent action *without the permission of the central Committee of the Kuo Min Tang*; the decision for the voluntary disarming of the workers' pickets *in Hankow*; the dissolution of the pioneer organizations in Wuhan; the actual crushing of all the peasant unions in the territory of the national government, etc."

Here is pictured quite frankly the policy of the Chinese Communist Party, the leadership of which actually helps the "national" bourgeoisie to crush the *people's uprising and to annihilate* the best fighters of the proletariat and peasantry.

But the frankness here is treacherous: the above citation is printed in the minutes after the omission cited above by the line of periods. Here is what the section concealed by Stalin says:

"At that time some responsible comrades, Chinese and **non-Chinese,** invented the so-called theory of retreat. They declared: The reaction is advancing upon us from all sides. We must therefore immediately retreat in order to save the possibility of legal work. and, if we will retreat, then we will save this possibility, but if we will defend ourselves or attempt to advance, then we will lose everything".

Precisely in those days (end of May 1927) when the Wuhan counter-revolution began to crush the workers and peasants in the face of the Left Kuo Min Tang, *Stalin declared at the Plenum* of the E. C. C. I. (May 24, 1927):

"The agrarian revolution is the basis and content of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China. **The Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan and the Wuhan government are the center of the bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement." (page 154).**

To a written question of a worker, *why there are no Soviets created in* Wuhan; Stalin replied:

"It is clear that whoever calls, at present, for the immediate creation of Soviets of workers' deputies in this (Wuhan) district, attempts to jump (!) over the **Kuo Min Tang phase of the Chinese revolution,** and he risks putting the Chinese revolution in a most difficult position."

Precisely: In a "most difficult" position! On May 13, 1927, in a conversation with students, Stalin declared:

"Should Soviets of workers and peasants deputies, in general, be created in China? Yes, they should, absolutely they should. They will have to be created **after the strengthening of the Wuhan revolutionary government,** after the unfolding of the agrarian revolution, in the transformation of the agrarian revolution, of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the revolution of the proletariat."

In this manner Stalin did not consider it permissable to strengthen the position of the workers and peasants, through Soviets, so long as the positions of the Wuhan government, of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, were not strengthened.

In reference to the famous theses of Stalin which justified his Wuhan policy, *the organ of the Russian Mensheviks* wrote at that time:

"Hardly much can be objected to in the essence of the "line" laid down in the theses. As long as possible not to leave the Kuo Min Tang and to cling to the last to its Left wing and the Wuhan government: 'to avoid the decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions'; not to advance the slogan, 'All Power to the Soviets', in order not to 'give the enemies of the Chinese people a new weapon in their handds in the struggle against *the revolution, for the creation* of legends about the fact that in China there is not a national revolution in progress, but an artificial transplanting of Moscow Sovietism',—what in reality can be more sensible? . . . " (**Socialistiche Vestynik,** 9-151, 9-v—page 1.)

On its part the VIII Plenum of the E. C. C. I. which was in session at the end of May, 1927, that is, at a time when the crushing of the workers and peasants organizations in Wuhan had already begun, adopted the following decision:

"The E. C. C. I. insistently calls the attention of the Chinese Communist Party to the necessity of all possible measures for the strengthening and developing of all mass organizations of workers and peasants . . . within all these organizations it is necessary to carry on an agitation **for the entrance into the Kuo Min Tang,** transforming *the latter into a mighty* mass organization of the revolutionary petty bourgeois democracy and the working class."

"To enter the Kuo Min Tang" meant to voluntarily bring one's head to slaughter. The bloody lesson of Shanghai passed without a trace. The Communist as before were being transformed into cattle herders for the party of the bourgeois executioners (Kuo Min Tang), into suppliers of 'workers and peasants blood" for Wang Tin Wei and Company.

—L. D. TROTSKY.

* A Ukrainian White Guard general.

** In reference to this nonsense see L. Trotsky, "The Permanent Revolution" Pioneer Publishers, New York, page 84.

IMPRISONED FOR CHALKING COMMUNIST SLOGANS

SHANGHAI, Nov. 20 (Fenprecor) Two and one half years in prison for chalking Communist slogans on a wall! Such was the sentence meted out to young Lee Kwong-pan in the First District Court here. The student claimed he was only raeding the slogans when arrested, but police evidence to the contrary was accepted by the court which proceeded to inflict the outrageous penalty.

Two printers, Loh Zung-pao and Yu Shu-ching were sentenced to six months each for "publishing a reactionary paper called the Shanghai Sin Pao", an anti-Nanking organ.

The Geneva Disarmament Bluff

(ontinued from page 1)

have, under capitalist conditions, only a transitory significance.

Of the imperialist rivalries and contradictions in the Near and Far East, we need not comment. They are only all too evident. There is need only to cite the present war in Manchuria. The League of Nations has proved powerless there. The Disarmament Conference can once again in February "outlaw" war by passing another resolution—but the Japanese guns will boom and possibly others as well.

The Fundamental Struggle: For Capitalism or Communism

And lastly, there is the outstanding contradiction, the **historical contradiction** between the imperialist powers of the world and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. For this the "Disarmament Conference" has no solution **except war.** And *it is this war against the Workers'* Republic, based upon the **fundamental contradiction of capitalism and Communism,** that the capitalist powers are preparing. There is no answer to the existence side by side of a capitalist world and a country aiming for the abolition of all forms of capitalist exploitation and ideology, **except a struggle between them for supremacy.** That can only be by the destruction of one and the victory of the other **on a world scale.** This economic, social and political *contradiction in the world today*—a capitalist world and a Soviet Russia—can find no solution, nor even a beginning of one, in a League of Nations, the **Kellogg Pact** or Disarmament Conferences. The answer can only be: the domination of **international capitalism** or international Communism.

The Soviet Union, under the aegis of Stalin, Litvinoff, et al, has most unfortunately assisted in the sowing of illusions, of pacifist nonsense, of fraudulent peace talk, by being a signator to the Kellogg Pact, *a capitalist instrument* aimed, in the last analysis, at clipping the wings of the Soviet Republic, disarming and destroying it. The propagation by the Soviet Union of the theory of peaceful co-habitation side by side, indefinitely, of the Soviet Republic and the capitalist world only plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the muddled pacifists and confuses the working class which must see the problem of war and peace **as a class problem.**

Pacifism—A Middle Class Movement

Pacifism, which finds its greatest expression and hope in "disarmament conference", *League of Nations*, etc., has been swelling its forces numerically. In all countries pacifist movements have grown. Yet the **pacifist movement is impotent** to solve the problem of militarism and war. Pacifism represents the outlook of the middle class, the petty-bourgeoisie; it represents the flower of its idealism. We find here a diffused economic class, declassed elements too, caught between the main classes of society, the capitalist class and the industrial proletariat, crushed from all directions, also victims of capitalism, militarism and war.

Pacifism is the only way in which this group finds it possible, with its limited consciousness of today, to express its resentment and opposition to capitalist warfare. Students, overwhelmingly from the middle class, make up the "militant" section of the pacifist movement. But, when all is said and done, when the war drums begin to throb, they will answer the call of "Tommy Atkins" and the "doughboy". *Until these elements*, the petit-bourgeois, **grasp** the class outlook, **the proletarian concept of the causes of war,** their movement is doomed to sterility.

"Conscientious objection, anti-war strike, and so on," says Lenin, "are just stupidities, pitiful and poor-spirited dreams of unarmed struggle against the armed bourgeoisie, of the ending of capitalism without a desperate civil war or a series of wars . . . Away with the parsonical, sentimental, absurd dreaming *about 'peace at any price'*"

That is why, too, all the post-war literature of pacifism, the horrors of war, have no lasting impression or genuine value for a solution to the war problem.

Militarism and War: A Class Problem

War and militarism must be approached by the working class from a **class standpoint.** They are class problems. War is a manifestation of capitalist society: *it occurs when there is no other* way out of the **impasse** of capitalist rivalries or **rivalry today between contending social systems:** capitalist society and the Soviet Republic. War remains as long as capitalism remains. Armanents, navies, armies, airships—all are **unavoidable** while these **class divisions and rivalries** exist. Capitalist Disarmament Conferences can do nothing about this—except to play the game of the capitalists. It is a matter of **class struggle.** Capitalist militarism has found in the imperialist epoch its **class rival**—the **Red Army** of the Soviet Union, the **protector** of the **class interests of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and the entire world.**

The future lies, not with pacifism, but in a recognition by the working class of the world that it must prepare the *organization of all its forces for the im*pending final struggles between the workers and the capitalists. Not pacifism—but class war. Not "national security and defense"; not social-patriotism and nationalism—but international solidarity and organization of the proletariat.

The Geneva Conference will settle nothing; it has not the power to settle anything. Geneva will only serve further to expose the futility of pacifism, the impotence of the League of Nations, the rapacity of the imperialist powers, their unwillingness to give up any part of their spoils. The only thing peaceful at Geneva will be its peaceful waters. Otherwise, it will only reveal the imperialist contradictions once again and be a warning to the proletariat to be on guard.

—MARTIN ABERN.

Mother Mooney Denounces Gov. Rolph

Writings from St. Joseph's Hospital, Tom Mooney's Mother, Mary Mooney, sent a letter to Gov. Rolph requesting pardon for her son. Excerpts from it follow:

St. Joseph's Hospital,
San Francisco, Calif.
December 13, 1931

"Governor James Rolph, Jr.
State Capitol,
Sacramento, California.
Dear Governor:

Sure and I'm sick and *in the hospital* or I'd come to see you myself to talk to you about my son, Tom Mooney, so I'm writin' you this letter. In all the long years since my boy was in prison, I've *never bothered any Governors*, as I thought t'would look like I wanted pity and I didn't and don't want any now. And I want my boy to get a square deal like any other man and it's up to you to give it to him.

Governor Rolph, I came to this country from old Ireland before you was born. I've lived here over sixty years. I raised my children to be honest. Our whole family was hard-workin' people. Tom was the oldest child; he worked his head off to help the rest of us. His father died when Tom was a small boy. He never in his life did anything that wasn't honest.

Sure, t'was because he was *honest and* a brave boy and stood up like a man to fight for his own people, the workin' people, that they framed on him and purty near hanged him. Faith, and I'm *proud of my son* because he wouldn't sell himself to nobody for money or an easy job. That's the way I brought him up.

My son was framed on by the corporashuns because he fought for the workin' people. They wanted him out of the way. Take the main witness in the case: Oxman. Sure, and I told the scoundrel when he was walkin' out of the court after he swore my boy's life away for a few dollars "You're lyin' on my boy and tryin' to put the rope around his neck. . . ." He never answered me, but hung his head for shame.

You're the fourth governor since my boy went to jail and his purty black hair turned gray. He became an old man in jail. Sure and it's the sixteenth Christmas he'll be spendin' in jail.

Now it looks like you're usin' my boy for a football like all the other governor did. You kick him to Mr. Sullivan and I guess he'll kick him back to you. You say it'll take three or four months to look over the facts. Faith, and it makes me old Irish heart sick to hear that old *blarney. Sure, any schoolboy could* know all the facts in three or four hours. And you were mayor when it happened and marched in the parade and sure should know all the facts.

Three or four months might not be long for you, Governor, or for Mr. Sullivan, but it's a long time for me what's been waitin' for over fifteen years and for my boy what's had almost sixteen years stolen from his life.

Motherly yours,
(Signed) Mrs. Mary Mooney"

Entertainment

In New York for Young Spartacus

An **Entertainment** and **Dance** for the benefit of **Young Spartacus,** official organ of the Youth Section, Communist League of America (Opposition), will be held on **Saturday, January 9th, 1932,** beginning at **8 P. M.,** at the headquarters of the League, **84 East 10th Street.**

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the **Young Spartacus** entertainment, **Saturday, January 9th.** The affair is under the auspices of the New York Section of the Communist League (Opposition).

EDITORIAL NOTES

EVIDENCE MADE TO ORDER

The trial of the gangsters, Coll and Giordano, on murder charges, which resulted in the acquittal of the defendants, throws a glaring searchlight on "justice" as it is administered in New York. The men were "positively identified" as the men who fired the shots in the baby killing last Summer by a witness who had been on the police payroll for months and kept secluded in a hotel under guard. Brecht, the police witness, did not merely think they might be the killers. He knew it. He was an "eye witness" to the shooting, and he swore that Coll and Giordano were the men he saw spraying bullets from the auto. And then, all of a sudden, the prosecution's case went to pieces. Brecht was exposed by the defense counsel as a professional "identifier" and perjurer, a thief, ex-convict and all-around scoundrel —a sort of a Hoyle. It was even disclosed that he had "identified" the defendants some years ago in a similar case in St. Louis and that on that occasion, also, his testimony had been discredited. Following this bomb-shell the case collapsed and the court ordered an acquittal.

Victims of the frame-up system of American justice are not always so fortunate. The police in this case made the mistake of picking on real gangsters with money and influence. They were able to employ competent legal counsel. They had the means to finance investigations. They owe their acquittal to these circumstances. If they had been small fry, if they had been friendless men, without money or connections, they would be on the way to the electric chair already without a doubt.

The police frame up their victims all the time as a matter of routine, as a habit. We have seen the revelations of the Seabury investigation regarding women framed as prostitutes. During the Greco-Carillo case a few years ago a veteran newspaper man covering the trial remarked: "Half of the fellows who go out of this court room to prison are convicted on fake evidence. Everybody knows that. If these two men don't go up, it will be because they have good lawyers and influential friends." This is the record and the reputation of the New York police and prosecution system among all informed people. If the use of perjured evidence and third degree intimidation are used systematically in ordinary criminal cases day by day, what man in his right senses would trust them to deal justly and fairly with defendants in a labor case?

The stage was all set for a speedy railroading by the time-honored methods in the case of the indicated marine workers, Soderberg, Bunker, and Trajer. The formation of a defense committee and the employment of qualified attorneys have introduced a few "complications" into the game. It is already obvious that there is going to be a fight and not a one-sided victimization of helpless prisoners who have no means of defending themselves. They will have to be more careful with their cooked-up perjury out of fear of another annihilating exposure. The whole question of whether they will have the nerve to go through with their brazen frame-up will depend on the public interest in the case, and particularly the interest of the labor movement.

This interest is growing and is being organized. But not fast enough. If we work harder, if we extend our fight on a broader front, if a real movement of the working class comes to the support of the prisoners, they will be liberated. And that will not be a victory for them alone. It will be a form of protection to the labor movement as a whole against attempts to disrupt it by frame-ups and dynamite plants. To that end we must work with all our strength in the time that is left before the trial.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

The appearance of a Greek organ of the Left Opposition in America, and the projected early publication of a Jewish paper, will no doubt extend the propaganda effectiveness of our movement to a considerable extent. At the same time these developments pose before the Communist League, for the first time in its experience as a distinct organization, one of the most difficult and complicated problems—the problem of coordinating and centralizing a movement which is compelled, by the force of circumstances in the country, to speak in many tongues.

Foreign language speaking workers constitute an important—even if not the most decisive—section of the American proletariat. To carry the message of Communism to them and to unite them with the native workers in a single movement is a task that American Communism has stumbled over more than once in the past. We ought to learn from the costly mistakes of the past Party experience in order to avoid them in our own work as a faction.

The problem is political, first of all. Organization difficulties, which have in the past assumed tremendous importance, flow from the political essence of the question. As Marxists we can do no other than aim at a centralized movement which carries an identical message in every language, and always acts as an organizational unit. Special language organizations cannot have an independent existence under our banner. The Left Opposition has no use for autonomous language groups.

The strength of the Left Opposition, in all of its manifestations, is the strength of its ideas, its granite foundation of principle. Every special language grouping or propaganda expression must be built from the very start on this conception. It follows from this that all of our language papers, as well as all other propaganda mediums, are organs of a single National Committee. The references all our language organs make to specific problems of the immigrant workers have to be subordinated entirely and directly related to our fundamental principle line.

The right wing of American Communism is also having an experience in this field. In the contrast between that experience and ours can be seen the contrast between a movement that lives from day to day, as best it can, and a movement that goes by principle. The **Revoultionary Age** complains about its Lithuanian twin **Naujoji Gadyne** which has recently made its first appearance.

"There is a distinct tendency to treat the struggle of the Lithuanian Opposition as if it were an isolated 'Litnuanian' fight. The fundamental political struggle . . . is almost completely neglected . . . It does not as much as mention the Communist Party (Majority Group)."

Well, what do you expect? Of course they leave aside the big questions and devote themselves to the comparatively petty "national" issues to catch the support of people with transitory grievances. The opportunists always do that. **The Naujojl Gadyne** is only repeating the method it learned from the **Revolutionary Age.**

Such exhibitions cannot happen in the Left Opposition. The **Revolutionary Age** also criticized the manifesto of the Communist League in the Greek language—but from an opposite standpoint. The manifesto, it said, talked too much about the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Chinese Revolution, and not enough about the so-called "Greek" questions. We need not worry about such criticism. Let us go to the workers in all languages with a uniform propaganda on the fundamental questions of world import. In that way we will build a movement among the foreign language speaking workers that is ideologically united with the Communist League and an integral part of its organization. If we go ahead with this aim we will be armed in advance against most of the difficulties and contradictions which hampered the Party in the past in the foreign language field.

WHERE DID THEY LEARN?

Honor to carpenters' union Local 2090 of New York. This is the first union to respond to the appeal of the Marine Workers Defense Committee and to vote a donation for the expenses of its work. This action took place at its meeting last Wednesday when a representative of the Defense Committee spoke before it on the case.

This act of solidarity was not performed without an internal struggle. Of course nobody flatly opposed the idea of helping union men to defend themselves in the capitalist court. Nobody ever does. The opposition to the contribution expressed itself in the form of proposals to delay, to "investigate", to find out more about the facts, and similar fraudulent devices and subterfuges. And whom do you think were the exponents of these worthless and dishonorable maneuvers to cheat the imprisoned workers of the aid that is their due? As the news report in another column in this issue tells, it was the members of the Trade Union Unity League, the revolutionary trade unionists if you please who spoke for this counterfeit caution The reactionary elements in the union voted with them. An incongruous line-up, indeed.

Militants in the labor movement who have served their time on various occasions in the fight to gain trade union support for persecuted workers have grown familiar long ago with the technic of obstruction to this work. Never, or in any case hardly ever, do you encounter a straight out fight against the prisoners in question. The impulses of the workers are always on the side of their persecuted brothers; their tendency is to respond generously and unquestionably to their appeal. The reactionaries know that. That's why they resort to flank movements, tricks, traps, maneuvers to put off and wear out the question. The favorite maneuver of all, when they are taken unawares, is to postpone action and "investigate". They are never opposed to helping the men in prison. God forbid! They only want to know more about the case. If it comes to trial and results in a conviction, before they get the necessary information—all the better.

This, as has been said, is the well known strategy of the reactionary bureaucrats. But here we have "the vanguard of the proletariat" resorting to this hypocritical shrewdness. Is it not time for the trade union militants who draw their inspiration from the Communist Party to stop discrediting themselves in this manner? You cannot violate all the ethics of labor solidarity and then expect to be taken seriously as a revolutionist. You cannot fight reaction with methods and practices borrowed from the reactionaries.

—J. P. C.

THE NATIONAL TOUR

The balance of the schedule for the National Tour of comrade Arne Swabeck is as follows:

Balance of schedule follows:
Cleveland, Ohio .....January 5th
Youngstown, Ohio .....January 6th
Pittsburgh, Pa.....January 7th
Philadelphia, Pa. .....January 9, 10.

A Sojourn With Comrade Leon Trotsky

-- Five Weeks in Kadikoy --

Kadikoy is an Anglo-American resident suburb of Constantinople, twenty minutes by boat from the Pera quarter of the city and located on the Asiatic side of Turkey, where the Bosphorous flows into the Marmora Sea. At the outskirts of this surburb, in the section called Moda, located on the bluffs overlooking the eastern shores of the Marmora, dotted here and there with many islands, is the home of comrade Leon Trotsky.

Comrade Trotsky has been living here for almost a year—since the lamentable fire destroyed his home of exile on the island of Prinkipo. The present home is a simple two-story, wooden-frame dwelling, that boasts of no historic preoccupants. It is surrounded by a high picket fence, reinforced with barbed wire. In the garden running about the house is the abode where the two policemen, the cook and the fishermen live. It is here together with his wife, Natalia Ivanovna, his daughter's son, his secretary comrade Frankel, and a stenographer, that Trotsky lives and works.

* * * *

We arrived at the house early in the morning and after making our identity known gained admittance into the house. In a few moments we found ourselves in the workroom face to face with the leader of the International Left Opposition. Comrade Trotsky pushed aside his manuscripts and greeted us warmly. Little time was wasted with formalities. We were too eager to question each other. We talked for over two hours, drifting from subject to subject and then proceeded to outline our discussions to cover the length of our stay.

* * * *

A subject of intense interest to every revolutionist, one that came first to our lips and which our American readers undoubtedly are anxious to learn about is the state of comrade Trotsky's health. In the past a variety of reports circulated regarding the numerous ailments with which he was afflicted. When we inquired as to his health comrade Trotsky replied: "My two chief ailments are malaria and an ulcerated stomach. I suffer of these from time to time. The condition of my stomach forces me to adhere to a rigid diet and occasionally I have been laid low through this illness. Regarding my malaria I can add very little to what I have already told the comrades previously. There is very little that can be done for it in Turkey. The climate is extremely bad for malaria. Particularly in hot weather do I succumb to spells accompanied by terrific fevers which forbid me from continuing my work. If it were possible to live in a climate where the heat were not so intense it would help considerably but, as things look now, I must consider Turkey my home for some time to come. My heart functions well and otherwise I feel well. If only for these two ailments I would consider myself a healthy man."

We observedly particularly, during our stay, the enormous energy of comrade Trotsky. While we were there he was completing the last chapters of the second volume of the "History of the Russian Revolution". (The first volume will be out in February, published by Simon and Shuster Company). Comrade Trotsky lives very methodidcally. He goes to bed early and rises early. He begins to work in the morning and continues until he is ready to go to sleep. All his energy is directed toward the completion of his present work. In addition to the book, Trotsky maintains a correspondence with the leading sections of the International Left Opposition. He reads the most important international periodicals of the Comintern, the organs of the various parties and the capitalist press of the leading countries. The only break in this program of immense work of the leader of the Opposition, comrade Trotsky finds in fishing occasionally and, on rare moments, to hunt. This is the only form of relaxation from the terrific pace with which he works.

* * * *

America absorbs a great deal of comrade Trotsky's interest. To him the United States symbolizes capitalism at the height of its development. "This period sees America assuming the leadership of the capitalist world", he told us. He continued: "While it is not excluded that America can rise out of the present crisis and attain its former strength, she will have to do this at the expense of the rest of the world. The United States will turn its attention to the quest for a redivision of the world markets. And in this development she will exhibit her ruthlessness. One of the weaknesses in the present situation is the subjective factor. It is not enough to say that statistics point to the impossibility for America to rise out of the present difficulties. We must not forget that from the subjective point of view there does not exist a revolutionary working-class to harass America at home. She apparently feels free to proceed without much protest with wage-cuts on a national scale and repressions against the American working class.

"But in spite of this we have reason to be hopeful for the American working-class. The effects of the crisis have a tremendous influence in shattering their bourgeois and petty bourgeois longings, which came as a result of the stupendous rise of American capitalism during the almost uninterrupted growth of industry there. But America has passed that "golden era". I think that it is correct to say that from now on her development will be a far more difficult one, made at the expensive of the rest of the world and in particular through increased persecution of the working class at home. It is nowhere written that the United States must be last on the calendar of the revolution. The world character of economy, plus various combinations, can push the United States to the upper portion of the list. I have spoken on this same question to the American comrades before. The problem, however, assumes even more importance now.

"A great deal depends upon the preparations made by the Communists for the struggles of the future. The Comintern heretofore refused to recognize the role of American Imperialism and only after a criticism by the Opposition made a belated turn about face. But it is absolutely necessary for the Communist to realize the role of American capitalism, to see its development and prepare for the future?"

Jokingly we asked comrade Trotsky whether he would like to come to the United States to live. He expressed a real desire to be here, but replied: "I think it is best to wait until the revolution and I trust that you comrades will push a little faster to accomplish this."

* * * *

Comrade Trotsky is deeply interested in the Youth movement. Repeatedly he asked us questions regarding the youth in the States. "Have you any youth in the Opposition"? "What kind of youth activity have you been carrying on?" "What are the possibilities of organizing a youth movement supporting the Opposition and training, educating and preparing the cadres of youth for the future?" He expressed himself as follows: "It is absolutely necessary that the Opposition concentrate on winning the youth to its support. Unlike the thoroughly corrupted bureaucrats, it is quite possible to win large sections of the youth to the Opposition. They are less corrupted and are more susceptible to the ideas of the Left Opposition. We must concentrate especially upon winning them to our banner. They will become a tremeudous reserve for us. I should really like to see efforts made in this field of work." The steps already taken by the National Executive Committee in promulgating youth work through the issuance of **Young Spartacus** and helping to create the Youth Clubs will find a favorable support from comrade Trotsky. He is especially interested in our efforts in this field of work.

* * * *

America is not altogether strange to him. He asked about the role of the Socialist Party in the present crisis. "Does the Socialist Party take an active part in the struggles of the workers in the present crisis? Are they really making efforts to build their organization? Do the workers support the anti-working class activity of the Hillquits and liberal mutterings of the Thomases? American Socialism has not changed its reformist approach to the problems confronting the proletariat. It remains a constant danger to the working class."

In connection with the Socialist Party, comrade Trotsky asked about the role of the Jewish workers in this country. He told us that it was quite possible to win their support. But for this it would be necessary to publish our literature in the Jewish language in order to make it accessible to them. "Yes, you should not neglect the Jewish worker. He will be a great help to you and the American comrades should try to attract them to the Opposition and win them to the support of the our ideas."

* * * *

Comrade Trotsky takes a deep interest in the minutest tasks of the Opposition. He asked many questions about the **Militant,** which he regards very highly. "The **Militant** must be maintained as a weekly at all costs. It is a powerful weapon and no doubt is your strongest phase of work". He questioned us regarding its sales, whether it was read by the members of the Party, what our financial condition is, and numerous other questions regarding the existence of the Lovestone group and the activity of the Party. He often repeated the absolute necessity to win the Party members. "They are most important", he told us, "and for this you must organize your Party factions. They must be active bodies, participating in the life of the Party. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are a Party faction, and our future depends directly upon the whole future of Communism and the Party."

* * * *

We found comrade Trotsky in good spirits despite the extreme hardships of his exile. He must write in order to live and this in a sense is a handicap in that it does not allow him to concentrate all his thoughts and energies on the International Opposition. We talked about life in Turkey, and often its humorous though tragic sides would come in for discussion. The fire that broke out almost a year ago destroyed his library and a box of valuable clippings that were collected over a period of years. Comrade Trotsky is planning a book on the International Situation following the completion of his present work. It was for this that he had been collecting material. "When we first arrived, I made inquiries regarding a library in Turkey, which I might be able to use in my work. But unfortunately, I learned that such an institution was not to be found in Turkey. After the fire, I sent comrade Frankel to the National University of Stamboul requesting the use of the school library. They were anxious to help, but found that impossible because the university did not have a library which I could use. So you see that I am really handicapped in this sense."

We learned from the comrades there that the fire destroyed almost every thing. It broke out late at night and before much could be done, it spread through the entire house. All that was saved from the ruins were the archives, Lenin's letters and documents. His library consisting of 2000 read and annotated volumes and clippings were burned. The clothes belonging to the entire family were destroyed and $150.00 in cash was burned. "But even so," comrade Trotsky said smilingly, "it could have been very much worse".

* * * *

Comrade Frankel related the following incident to us: "Shortly after the fire we engaged a room in a nearby hotel. All of us felt dejected and were very much disturbed by the irreparable losses of the fire—all except comrade Trotsky. No sooner were we settled, when he laid his manuscripts out on the table, called the stenographer over and began to dictate chapters of his book as though nothing at all had happened during the night".

Upon news of this loss, books were sent to Trotsky from different parts of the world. These help to rebuild the library that he lost. Books on economics, history, politics and labor movement are especially needed and welcomed by him. In this article we appeal to our comrades, sympathizers and anybody who is interested, to communicate with us in regard to rebuilding the library of comrade Trotsky.

* * * *

Comrade Trotsky is much troubled by the situation in Germany. He regards the situation there to be decisive in its influence on the whole trend of events internationally. "A victory of Fascism in Germany would have disatrous effects everywhere", he told us. "The Party does not realise that should Hitler come to power he would destroy the Party and the Labor movement. But instead of that it plays with the situation in a most criminal manner. It recalls to my mind the period of 1923 when Brandler and Company capitulated. Then the Party followed behind events instead of leading the proletariat in the struggle for power. From all appearances the Party is continuing the very same course today. The Opposition must do all in its power to prevent this attitude of the Party from continuing. This is one of our chief tasks. We must make the Party realize that its task at present is to organize the working class resistance to Fascism and prepare for the revolutionary struggle."

From Germany we went on to a discussion on the situation in the Soviet Union. We asked comrade Trotsky just what effects the world crisis would have on the Soviet Union. Comrade Trotsky was of the opinion that "the world crisis will have severe repercussions there. It appears now that the five year plan is experiencing a number of difficulties about which we warned long ago, but the relation of economy on a world scale to national economy will cause a crisis of the five year plan and only increase the economic difficulties of the proletarian dictatorship." Even now, while Stalin and Litvinov speak of the possibilities of the peaceful development side by side of Socialism and Capitalism, the capitalist powers only work to make matters more difficult for Soviet Economy. For the Opposition it means more determined efforts than ever.

"The capitulators find things more difficult than ever. Those who were influenced by the step of Radek and the other older comrades, and who sincerely felt that a change was taking place in the policy of the Party, found themselves returned to exile shortly after they were taken back into the Party. Radek tries to establish himself in the Party by continuously denouncing the Opposition and renouncing every principled idea that he ever held. He has become the most vicious of them all. Most of the capitulators do not exist politically. They have sold their ideas for the right to return to the centers to enjoy the existence of "marked men". The genuine Oppositionists remain steadfast. There are many thousands in exile. It is hard to estimate how many. Official figures will tell nothing. Those in exile are forced to go through terrific persecution and in spite of the extremely unfavorable conditions of work (lack of writing materials, lack of books, periodicals, relations with other Opposition colonies, or with the Party itself) exhibit a fearlessness that should encourage every Oppositionist. There are in exile today between three and five thousand young Oppositionists as well as a few thousand old Bolsheviks. In the Party ranks there are currents of Oppositionists everywhere. Stalin thinks that by his severe repressions he can stamp out the Opposition. But he can never do this in spite of everything that he does. The Opposition lives because its ideas are the ideas of Marx and Lenin. Because their ideas are the ideas of the October Revolution".

* * * *

It was not easy to part when the time came to leave. But there was no other choice and we made ready to go. The thought came often to us: What a horrible crime Stalinism has committed to the revolutionary movement. The exile of comrade Trotsky is a terrible blow to the Russian Revolution and to the Communist International. Trotsky in Turkey is Trotsky endangered. The nest of white-guardists in Constantinople and in the Balkan countries always loom up as a constant threat to the life of our leader. The great handicaps in the work, his health made more aggravated in this country, his general separation from the centers of the movement, are not easy to overcome. Comrade Trotsky keeps on fighting. The greatest tribute to him is to build the International Left Opposition and to carry on the historic fight against Stalinism—that virus which has brought these conditions upon the Communist movement—and thereby to regenerate the International Communist movement for the conquest of proletarian uower.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Successful Banquet for Press Held in Mpls.

MINNEAPOLIS—The first of a series of events, which marked comrade Swabeck's visit to Minneapolis, the banquet held for the benefit of the **Militant** and the forthcoming Jewish organ, **Unser Kamf** was held on Saturday, December 26 and was unanimously considered a success. After an excellent dinner of over 50 comrades and Left wingers, comrade Carl Cowl, the chairman, gave greetings in the name of the Left Opposition and then introduced comrades Carl Skoglund and Vincent Dunne who made appropriate remarks befitting the occasion. Alpert rendered some vi lin selections, and then comrade Miles Dunne favored the audiences with a few monologues. Comrade Avrin next read Trotsky's farewell remarks upon Lenin's death. "Farewell, Ilyitch!" and then delivered a speech on Lenin. Comrade Arne Swabeck then spoke on the tasks and duties of the Communist movement and dealt particularly with our press. In response over $60.00 in cash and pledges was collected, as well as a number of subscriptions to the Jewish paper. **Unser Kampf.**

The cash contributions were as follows: Vincent Dunne, $10.00; Carl Skoglund, Louis Roseland, S. Zalmanoff, Ladies Auxiliary of the I. W. C. and L.—each $5.00; Hoberman—$1.50; comrades Averbach, Malinsky, Chas. Johnson, Lucatsky, J. Schwartz, Pat Rogers, Frank Glaser, Grant Dunne, Miles Dunne, Carl Cowl, Avrin, Fanny Barach, Lessin, M. Schwartz, Mogilebsky, Lubitssch—$1.00 each; Clem Forsen Bertha Sauer and others—50 cents each.

The Committee is grateful to all those comrades who worked to make the banquet for the Left Opposition a success,

DEBATE IN MINNEAPOLIS

"Resolved that **COMMUNISM CAN EMANCIPATE THE WORKING CLASS"**
Affirmative: **V. R. Dunne,** representing Communist League of America (Opposition.)
Negative: **Jean Spielman,** representative of the A. F. of L. Printing Trades.
Time: **SUNDAY, JANUARY 3rd, 1932** at 3 P. M.
Place: **WORKERS OPEN FORUM HALL, 1530 EAST FRANKLIN,** (corner of Bloomington).
Questions and Answers From the Floor
Admission: **FREE**

Attention!

Minneapolis Open Forum

Among the lecture arranged for forthcoming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise mentioned are **at 3 P. M.:**

Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next?. Speaker: Vincent R. Dunne.

Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism". Speakers: **O. P. Victorian,** representing the Socialist Party against **Carl Cowl** representing Communist League of America (Opposition).

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Proposed Railroad Wage Reductions" Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.,

The **Admission is free.**

EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTION

If the number of your wrapper is **97** or under, your subscription has expired. To ensure that you do not miss a single issue of **The Militant,** send in your **renewal** immediately to **The. Militant,** 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the Communist League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. V, No. 1 (Whole No. 97)

Subscription rate: $2.00 per year; foreigh $2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy

Saturday, JANUAY 2, 1932